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New Republic

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

DID IKE DELAY PEACE IN KOREA?

An Editorial

GOOD MEN AND GOVERNMENT

by Francis Biddle

RUSSIA'S NEW UN GAME

by Joseph P. Lash

Reviews of

Edmund Wilson, THE SHORES OF LIGHT

by Malcolm Cowley

Katherine Anne Porter, THE DAYS BEFORE

by Mark Schorer

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Letters

Funds for Stevenson

● Please accept the $5 bill included. If it is as you said in "Stevenson's Shoestring," (*NR*, Oct. 27) that the fat cats are unco-operative, let us welcome it. Maybe this is the opportunity to build up a truly Democratic Party based on the skinny felines.

This is my first political contribution. I ponder where to send it. Since free-minded people are under attack, I thought it wise to send it through you. In this way the contribution of thoughtful citizens could be felt best.

Indianapolis, Ind. N.C.O.

● Enclosed is a check for $10 to be used for the Stevenson-Sparkman campaign.

I've just finished reading the current issue of your most excellent magazine. The article "Stevenson's Shoestring" brings forth this letter *and* the check.

I have been a subscriber for years, but like most I just have not taken the time to write and commend you on your courageous fight for liberal causes. . . .

Oswego, N. Y. P.G.

● Would you see that this enclosure goes to any group of Volunteers for Stevenson for help in the campaign. . . .

Schenectady, N.Y. E.C.

[The *New Republic* would like to thank its readers for sending in some $1,500 to be contributed to the Stevenson campaign. Acknowledgement will be made to donors directly by the Democratic National Committee. – THE EDITORS.]

Our Free Press

● I enjoy being a regular reader of *NR*, not only because of its shape, size, style and format but because it serves so well as an antidote to the daily press in finding its way behind the thin façades erected by those careless of the truth, façades of dourness or brightness, chiefly the former, but covering up the essence of the matter. . . . Many parties today indulge in historical distortion or misappliance. Such may be human, but in journalism it is unforgivable. . . .

CAPT. ROBERT C. GAEDE

Presque Isle AFB, Me.

Bright and Sassy

● It was away back in those days of despair in '32 that I, as a young university student, read avidly the pages of *New Republic* and then only occasionally since that time of generalized famine. Came this election contest and the dreary ing Ike *ad nauseam* metropolitan and I 32 pages of the morning Ike and even- decided to pierce the newspaper curtain via *New Republic*. This letter is to say that such spice as T. R. B.'s remark (*NR*, Oct. 13) "a race between one of Emerson's essays and an advertisement of bubble gum—" made the subscription worthwhile. Thanks too for the essay by Auden. Thanks for staying bright and sassy.

Crescent City, Fla. DR. BERNARD E. KANE

A New Subscriber

● I am writing about the records of members of Congress in your September 22 issue. I feel that a withholding tax on dividends and corporate-bond interest might be a hardship on people in middle- and lower-income groups. People in these income groups do own stocks and bonds. I suppose Senator Douglas' amendment though would be supposed to get more taxes from the larger income groups.

Cedar Rapids, Ia. FREDERICK J. MILLER

Papers for Stevenson

● T.R.B. in his Washington Wire (*NR*, Oct. 27) says that the only paper in Connecticut supporting Stevenson is the Yale *Daily News*.

I would like to call your attention to the Meriden, Conn., *Daily News Digest*, published by the International Typographical Union, which is supporting Stevenson. The paper, published Monday through Friday, has a circulation of over 6,000.

The other ITU papers in Allentown, Pa., Beckley and Huntington, W. Va., Springfield, Mo., Texarkana, Ark., and Monroe, La., also are supporting the Democratic candidate, as is the ITU's newest paper, *Labor's Daily*—a statewide labor paper published in Charleston, W. Va.

WASHINGTON, D.C. SAUL MILLER

● In your October 27 issue, under "Washington Wire" you note: "Today the only paper in Connecticut supporting Stevenson is the Yale *Daily News*."

Please note that the *Herald* has declared itself emphatically for Stevenson, and further lays claim to being the only generally circulated newspaper in the state supporting him.

Bridgeport, Conn. LEO MILLER

The Pope and Psychoanalysis

● Your correspondent, Percy Winner's, report on Pope Pius XII's pronouncement did not seem quite clear, although it appeared so to Mr. Winner.

First of all, translations often lose the original flavor and/or the exact meaning of the original idiom. Secondly, the paraphrases, as quoted by Mr. Winner, do not mention the word "Freud" once and it is left to interpretation again to find out what the Pope meant. . . .

The Holy Father is not being led astray (if Mr. Winner's quotations are correct, which I have ample reason to distrust) when he stresses that it "is not true that the pan-sexual method of a certain school [which?] of psychoanalysis is an integral part of any serious psychotherapy worthy of the name." Since the Freudian school is not "pan-sexual" (whatever that means), Freudians could rightly disavow the Pope's remarks as being intimated against them.

However, as pointed out earlier by a noted analyst, Erich Fromm, in his recent *Psychoanalysis and Religion* (Yale), both disciplines have a place and none should and, indeed, are not overlapping. Fromm quotes, among others, Monsignor Sheen and demonstrates amply how the prelate has misquoted Freud.

An editorial of the *American Journal of Psychotherapy* rightly comments about Bishop Sheen that "he transgresses the

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

From Suffrage to Suffering

"If women seem to be confused today," said [Mrs. R. I. C. Prout, a vice-president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs] "it's because they've started thinking." – *From the Detroit* Free Press.

Beginning Now

A widow inquires: I am a widow and one of my sons is John Doe Jr. He has recently married and I would like to know if he and his wife continue using "junior" or do they drop the junior and I adopt senior?

Mrs. Post: Correctly, you are Mrs. John Doe Jr., and your son and his wife are Mr. and Mrs. John Doe Sr., and your naming will lead to unending confusion. – *From the Houston* Post.

Almost Un-American

Henry Ford II, president Ford Motors, said today he was "amazed" at the preference shown by Europeans for Adlai E. Stevenson . . . said it was "incomprehensible to me that with all General Eisenhower has done for them and all our country has done for them that they could feel the way they do." – *From a UP dispatch.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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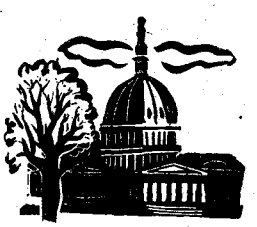
WASHINGTON WIRE

SHORTNESS of TV time prevented Joe McCarthy from reading the following letter which was in the batch he waved at his audience Monday night. How it fell into our hands we won't say, but we are sure of its authenticity—at least that it is as authentic as other material offered on the same program. Here it is.

Milwaukee, Nov. 3

DEAR MARTIN DIES:

I have meant to write you before. The papers say you are Democratic nominee for Congressman-at-large in Texas and that your election is assured. Though we haven't met, I think we understand each other.



You are only 51, come from a key state, served in Congress from 1931 to 1945 and were first chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee. I note that you already propose to form a "Joint Senate-House Bipartisan Un-American Activities Committee to weed out Communists in government offices," even before you return. Splendid. Your plan fits in with certain thoughts of my own centering around 1956. I need help in the House. Confidentially I think Ike hasn't much future—Taft is running him. But a North-South, Republican-Democrat, Catholic-Protestant coalition on a patriotic moral issue could get places. I think you understand.

This is a serious letter. For our mutual good I felt I should warn you in advance of your return to the Capital that things have changed in Washington since you decided not to run, in 1945. You realized that your Red issue, as you were then preaching it, had run out. The trouble was, if I can be frank with you, that you lacked confidence. You got flippant. Please do not think that I am underestimating your remarkable gifts. But you should not have formed that "Demagogues' Club" with congenial Congressmen. Martin, (let me call you that) you have got to scare the people; the public is eager and willing to be scared, never more so than now. It wants to be scared, and it will pay anyone who helps do it.

I have been looking into your old committee. Ham Fish saw the possibilities first, I believe. But he was the table-pounding, Harvard football type —no brains. He wasn't built for big time. His GOP district kicked him out in 1945.

Now J. Parnell Thomas (R, N.J.) was more our sort. Is he still in jail, I wonder? But here again, he was more the Pat McCarran type — these ruddy-faced, roly-poly men are precinct workers at heart. Still I always admired the way he covered his walls with Lincoln, Washington and Jefferson pictures while he was getting kick-backs from padded payrolls. Some of his patriotic utterances were really good. It was pretty cute, too, changing his name, when a kid, from "Feeney," along with his religion; showed he had grasped the central idea that you have got to have the upper-class on your side—make the frightened conservatives think they are using you when you are using them. He was re-elected, you remember, even when his constituents knew the charges and the New Jersey grand jury was investigating. It proves my point, I think, that being found out doesn't really matter politically if you are just bold enough: look at those poor, pinko liberals still trying to catch up with me on my charges.

Well, that's the list. Of course, there's John Rankin (D, Miss.) He's just got beaten in his primary, you know, and won't be back. He stayed in Congress 32 years just by stirring up the racial issue; yes, he got the Un-American Committee established, too. He was father of us all, Martin! But he outlived his time. The menace now is Communism; we can do for the nation —sometimes I think for the world— what Rankin did so successfully for the

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first district of Mississippi. I have odd dreams about this, Martin. I'll tell you about them in Washington. With all his faults this little screwball Hitler understood things. Spies, espionage, atheism . . . . (part of letter obliterated).

I need your help in the House. Will you team up? I can't really see that the election result makes much difference to me. This pinko Adlai is just an intellectual, and Ike is a softy. Confidentially, you would have laughed yourself sick at the way Ike left out those lines about his friend General Marshall in Wisconsin when he came to indorse me. He *needed* me, you see. That's the big secret: they need us more than we need them. Remember this because it's the key to everything. I had some of the richest, stupidest, most powerful industrialists in America at my $50-a-plate Chicago dinner that that pink-jowled General Wood put on for me. I'm still boiling though at the GOP newspapers which got what they wanted from me and then said I was a "flop"! I'll get even with them some day, never mind how. What did they think I could do after all without Congressional immunity? But I hung one beauty right around Adlai's neck when I said that the *Daily Worker* had indorsed him. Why, there are millions who'll believe that, millions of poor saps who never read editorials from highbrow newspapers, and the beauty of it is that nobody can sue you for libel on a thing like that. The Democrats are screaming that it isn't true. Well, what has that got to do with it? The damage has been done to Adlai, hasn't it, and that is what they bought the dinner for.

This pinko Adlai quoted Aristotle in a speech he made in New Haven, Oct. 27: "History shows that almost all tyrants have been demagogues who gained the favor of the people by their accusations of the notables." Think of that—2,000 years ago! It will be wonderful having you in the House, Martin, and I have plans . . . plans that I think will surprise you.

[The letter is simply signed, "Yours for '56, Joe McCarthy."]

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

domain of the priest whose task is to determine whether or not a status of 'sin' exists, and attempts to decide whether or not a neurosis exists which is to be treated by the application of psychiatric techniques" (July, 1952). No, it seems to me that the Pope still has not said anything conclusively that forbids Catholic analysts (and there are many!) from practicing their chosen profession.

But, even if Mr. Winner did quote the Pope correctly and interpreted him accurately, it seems to me a dangerous omen of our times that McCarthyism is spreading into other than its "legitimate" field, politics—unless one considers policy making in all disciplines as "politics." I find myself in full agreement with the closing sentence of the editorial of the *American Journal of Psychotherapy*:

> A grave responsibility toward the public rests upon Catholic circles who make a deliberate effort to discourage those in need of psychiatric assistance from submitting to a recognized, modern form of psychotherapy.

Los Angeles, Calif. HANS A. ILLING

● If Mr. Illing will get the issue of the *Osservatore Romano*, dated September 18, and read in it the text of the Pope's speech, he will find that the quotations are accurate; and that the translations have lost neither their original flavor nor meaning. If he can get access to the thinking, writing and speaking of Father Gemelli and other prelates who advise the Holy See on such, he will have no doubt that the phrases "pan-sexual method of a certain school"—whatever that may mean and whether or not the meaning is an accurate description—were intended to refer to the method of "orthodox" Freudian psychoanalysis. This was "condemned" in unequivocal language.

Nevertheless Mr. Illing's doubts are welcome. His letter gives me the pleasant opportunity to inform the readers of the *NR* that the Pope's speech caused a wave of serious alarm and protest in Catholic circles, especially in France and Italy. The *Osservatore Romano* in a subsequent issue, presumably on the assumption that many Italian prelates and laymen would not have understood the French text, published in the Italian language an "interpretation" of the Pope's views, which amounted to a partial retraction, or at least a modification. The present situation seems to be that, though the "pan-sexual method" remained prescribed, Catholic psychiatrists—of all methods and schools short of "pan-sexual"—may continue to use the techniques of psychoanalysis, provided that they seek and follow the "moral" guidance of their spiritual mentors.

It happens, by chance, that I was in the position to bring this additional information from Rome to Paris and to give it personally to such experts in the subtleties of the controversy . . . as Father Bruno and Father Philippe of the Carmelite Order, and Dr. Gregory Zilboorg of New York. If I understand their view, it is that, though the Pope's speech did in fact condemn Freudian analysis, the "interpretation" modified the condemnation to the extent that the judgment in fact and in each case is to be made (or can be made) by the Catholic analyst's priest, and ultimately the bishop of the diocese.

Rome PERCY WINNER

Secretaries for Stevenson

● I was very pleased with Jean Begeman's article "The Doctors Needle Their Patients," (*NR*, Oct. 27). I thought it might amuse you to know that a few of my friends who have secretarial jobs in doctors' offices saw to it that literature from the National Professional Committee went to the proper place—the trash can—before their bosses had a chance to see it. All is fair in love and political war!

New York City ANITA RICHMOND

Independence from Graft

● Thanks for Lee Shippey's inspiring and lucid article in this week's *New Republic* (Oct. 13), "Why Don't You Run for Congress?" I'm taking advantage of this offer and requesting a copy of "Declaration of Independence From Graft." Many thanks.

Falls Church, Va. MEL CRAIN

A Candidate Says Thanks

● As a candidate for public office who needs sound, liberal material for his campaign let me express my deep appreciation for the type and quality of magazine you are offering each week.

I have subscribed to the *New Republic* for some time but in recent months, in the course of my campaign, I have learned to understand the full value of your work. Your facts, your reasoning, your revelation of news otherwise suppressed over the country makes it essential reading today.

Cleveland, Ohio CHAT PATERSON

This issue of the *New Republic* went to press on Monday, November 3. Our analysis of the election and its consequences will be published next week.

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VOLUME 127, NUMBER 19, ISSUE 1980, WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 10, 1952 **New Republic**

HAS EISENHOWER DELAYED PEACE IN KOREA?

ON KOREA the Republicans made their final bid for victory in the 1952 campaign. As vote-catching it seemed shrewd, for 12 million parents found it hard to turn down a five-star General who assured them he would protect their sons from enemy fire. As leadership it was reckless and irresponsible. Other wounds inflicted in momentary bitterness may soon heal over. But the damage wrought by Eisenhower in seeking to make capital out of the Korean War may cost us strength and even lives for months to come.

Eisenhower baited two hooks for the voters on Korea —one that the war could be won and the victory protected without American troops; the other, that his personal intervention might be followed by an honorable peace. Both assurances were mischievous and unsound.

The first has strengthened our enemies and weakened our allies. Eisenhower's declaration that "Asians should fight Asians" has by now been drummed into millions of receptive ears by Communists as proof that we regard Asians as cannon fodder. More serious still, it has encouraged the Russians to gamble once more for control of all Korea. Since the UN Assembly of 1947, the Soviet Government has pressed for the evacuation of all foreign troops from Korea as the cheapest means of establishing its domination. In answer, the UN's military and civilian leaders have insisted that the lines cannot be held in wartime without our troops and that UN troops must remain in Korea after an armistice is signed to insure that any resumption of aggression will be against the UN, and not against the Republic of Korea alone.

That is our central position, from which we cannot safely retreat. But Eisenhower retreated from it in his hunger for votes.

Eisenhower's next assurance, that his personal intervention in Korea might end the war, was equally dangerous and damaging. It invited the Russians and Chinese to raise their price for peace on the reasonable assumption that we would pay more (at the expense of others) to meet our domestic political contracts. And it encouraged among Americans the illusion that in the long struggle against Communist aggression there is some easy substitute for unending patience and untiring effort.

In the course of two years of negotiations, the issue in Korea has been narrowed to the forcible repatriation of prisoners of war. The Communists have insisted that "prisoners of war of both sides shall all be repatriated." We have insisted that no soldier who forcibly resists repatriation shall be overcome and shipped back. Our stand accords with the basic principles for which the UN is fighting. It accords with our own belief that all men are equal and entitled to equal rights. It is strengthened by our practice of encouraging enemy soldiers to desert to our lines, and by our knowledge of the consequences of our action after the last war in forcing hundreds of thousands of Russian and East European exiles to return to slave labor camps and execution.

In Korea we took 170,000 prisoners in the war. Of these, 48,000 were found to be civilian refugees and were set free. In contrast, the Communists claimed 65,000 as captured and today list only 17,500 as prisoners of war.

In April we screened as many prisoners of war as we could. We gave them every encouragement to return, and even persuaded the Communists to offer them amnesty and assurance of fair treatment. Of the North Koreans, 83,000, including civilians, declared that they would not forcibly resist return. The real issue is not the remaining North Koreans, but 14,600 of the 21,000 Chinese soldiers who declared that they would forcibly resist repatriation.

The Communists, who had moved toward acceptance of the principle of non-forcible repatriation, declared when these results were published that the screening was carried out by torture and intimidation. To meet their charges, the UN negotiators, on September 28, offered three new methods of screening. With some variations, these proposals provided that the prisoners should be brought in small groups to neutral territory, that their rights and choices would be explained to them by impartial briefing officers, and that they would then be turned loose to go North or South. On October 8 these proposals were rejected by the Communists and the talks were recessed.

On October 24 Secretary Acheson restated our position in his speech to the UN Assembly:

There is no desire on the part of the UN command to

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keep one prisoner—not one. We would be perfectly happy, if there were no humanitarian considerations, simply to exchange prisoners and forget about them. . . . We would consider any plan or proposal which accepted the United Nations view that prisoners should not be made by force to return to the other side. We have asked for suggestions. We welcome all the proposals which have been made. . . . All have come to grief upon the insistence of the Communist side that prisoners must be forced to return.

Vishinsky, in replying, ignored completely the proposals of September 28. He repeated the charges of terror and intimidation. He called for a new UN Commission, a proposal without promise since the present United Nations' Commission on Korea is limited to problems of internal reconstruction by agreement of both sides. He left the door open, a crack, on voluntary repatriation.

There the deadlock rests. To widen the area of negotiation to include a general settlement would be to give away Formosa and gain nothing in return. To widen the conflict would be to bring on the third world war. While technical modifications can be developed and face-saving devices manufactured, our terms are set and they are just. The continuation of the war rests on a close balance between the costs of warfare and the costs of peace. By bombing and blockade, the costs of warfare may be somewhat increased. But there are few targets left in North Korea, and with the exception of cotton from Pakistan and rubber from Ceylon, not much trade is reaching China from the non-Communist world.

There is little we can do but hold and wait. There is little more that the Communists can do. Their present offensives are savage and supported by heavy fire. But they are not backed by reserves, or followed up. They seem to be directed by two purposes: to secure a better line which the armistice will one day accept as final, and to strengthen those in America who seek to exploit the suffering of war.

We faced a similar deadlock in Berlin. There the Russians set out to eliminate a dangerous Western enclave within their world. The blockade followed, and drew us very close to world war. We chose neither to smash the roadblocks with their Soviet guards nor to abandon Berlin. Instead we started the Airlift.

Mayor Ernest Reuter cried "It's wonderful, but I don't believe it can be done." We proved him wrong. From April 1, 1948, to September 30, 1949, we flew the transports in: 277,264 trips, with 2,345,300 tons of fuel and food. It cost the Allies 97 lives. But our lines held, and we made it clear that we would fly the airlift if necessary for 20 years. As a result, one morning the Russians quietly offered to lift the blockade.

That is our hope in Korea. Eisenhower has weakened the hope. He holds the responsibility from now on, to make it clear that this country and the UN will not buy peace cheaply in Korea or, driven by political expediency, move toward a larger war.

THE WEEK

GOOD NEWS ABOUT POLIO

The year 1952, which has seen the worst incidence of polio in history, may also be the last year in which this disease is a serious matter. Recent progress has been so rapid there is good reason to believe that by next summer, we may have an effective means of immunization.

The *NR* recently described the vast experiment last summer when about 27,000 children received injections of gamma globulin, a fraction of the blood of recovered polio patients (*NR*, Aug. 25). Results of this experiment, conducted under the auspices of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, have now been made public and show beyond doubt that gamma globulin protects against polio, for a period of at least five weeks and perhaps longer. The 27,000 children who received it got significantly less polio than did an equal number in a control group. Those infected were less ill.

Another development, perhaps even more important, is the news of what may prove an effective vaccine. Dr. Howard A. Howe of Johns Hopkins has killed viruses of all three types of polio, and has used them to create immunity in six children who participated in his experiment.

A third piece of news comes from Lederle Laboratories, of Pearl River, N. Y. There Dr. Herald R. Cox has succeeded in growing polio virus in the tissues of chick embryos. By passing it through successive embryos the virus is weakened down, which gives us hope of a possible even more effective vaccine.

SEPARATE SCHEDULES, TOO

Negroes of Deerfield Beach, Fla., have just concluded a five-week strike against a school calendar that forces their children to attend school in the hot summer months and releases them in the winter at the insistence of the wealthy vegetable growers to work in the fields.

It looked as though the discriminatory system might be abolished this year when the county school board granted their request to try out a straight winter schedule. But when the movement spread elsewhere in this properous farming community, the farmers called a quick halt. They went before the school board and threatened to turn the Negroes out of their homes in the labor camps if they stopped sending their

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children into the fields. "They can't save enough for rent unless the children work," warned their spokesman, W. D. Green. Besides, he pointed out, the children will work whether school is open or not. "They'll skip school if they want to eat," he said.

The intimidated school board quickly rescinded its former ruling and opened all Negro schools in the farm area the first week in August on the old schedule, but the Deerfield Beach Negroes, acting on the advice of an attorney, kept their children at home. Only 11 students out of a normal 300 were registered, and most of those were children of the school's teachers.

In spite of the success of the boycott, the board announced the school will close next February as usual. The Negroes say the children will report for class each day whether the school is open or not. The mothers will provide supervision if necessary. They say the children earn very little at their jobs, are subjected to unfavorable influences from the migrant workers and would be better off in school.

WHAT PRICE DECENTRALIZATION

A familiar cry of businessmen and Republican politicians, alike, is that government has concentrated in Washington to such a degree that the very freedom of the citizen is seriously threatened. This group has been confounded by Price Stabilizer Tighe Woods' announcement that he planned to move some of the functions of the Office of Price Stabilization away from Washington to communities over the nation. They raised a storm of protest.

The plan calls for the delegation of some of OPS's pricing functions to regional and district boards in 85 cities by the end of this year. During November three pilot boards will be set up in St. Paul, Providence, and Sacramento. Although from a legal standpoint these boards are purely advisory, the Price Stabilizer promised that their recommendations would be followed if they were in line with OPS policy.

What has so upset business and trade representatives is that the transferred functions are largely those of the commodity divisions of OPS which they have been accustomed to run almost for themselves. The new regional and district boards would probably not be so responsive to their wishes since they would consist of two businessmen, two consumers and one impartial member which the four will select.

Another distasteful aspect of this plan to these interests is that it could possibly serve to strengthen local support of the price-control program which is scheduled to expire April 30, 1952, unless continued by the Congress. These groups are hoping to block any such extension.

Woods also announced at a press conference that meetings of these local boards would be open to the press and the public. Attending correspondents for trade publications which had long decried star chamber sessions of government committees surprisingly protested this.

In announcing the plan, the Price Stabilizer observed:

> I do not believe that successful price stabilization can be dictated from Washington. It must derive in strength from those it seeks to serve—citizens in the communities of America. A strong, healthy stabilization program must, of necessity, allow for maximum participation on the part of individual citizens.

To this, some red-faced trade representatives seem to be replying: "Yes—but."

REJOICING IN THE EAST

Izvestia is rejoicing over "sharpening conflicts within the capitalist world," claiming Stalin's prophecies upheld by recent UN sessions and by a "serious long-term trend which will see succeeding French governments more and more compelled to oppose the US."

France fears Germany, and Germany fears limitless postponement of re-unification. Both fears are being given their most violent expression, now that Franco-German reconciliation could become reality. Recent events have strengthened those fears and their expression.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has admitted 66 percent of the higher officials in the Foreign Ministry are ex-Nazis. At a recent mass meeting of 5,000 ex-Waffen SS Troops in Lower Saxony, Gen. Hermann Ramcke called the Allies the true war-criminals and claimed their blacklists of Nazis "will become the list of honor." More moderate speakers received much less applause.

Such men as Wilhelm Schipman, last leader of the Storm Troops, campaign for office in Lower Saxony, a district which has witnessed a rash of pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic meetings. These men boast the Western Powers "cannot have a strong Germany without those who made it strong in the past"; this is exactly what the French both claim and fear. The boast is justified by efforts of the Free Democratic Party, which has demanded immediate unification of the Saar and Germany, and is the second largest in Adenauer's coalition government, to court the Waffen SS and all whose association with Hitler has kept them out of politics. Other conservative parties have adopted the tactic, and although neo-Nazism is largely limited to Lower Saxony, Northern Bavaria, and Schleswig-Holstein, the danger of its spreading is obvious.

German neutralists have been further encouraged, and French fears further justified, by the disclosure that the US had recruited, trained and armed an underground group in preparation for Russian invasion. Major elements of the group came from the *Bund Deutsche Jugend*, described as "werewolves" who would have acted, not against Russia, but against the West in a crisis. Trained by ex-Nazis, the group gathered a blacklist of persons to "liquidate." On the list were Erich Ollenhauer, Socialist Party Leader, Max Brauer, Mayor of Hamburg, and Wilhelm Kaisen, Mayor of Bremen. Although US support was withdrawn with amazement when the group's political tendencies were discovered, we are again held up to suspicion, ridicule and charges of political naïveté.

There is a tendency for such actions to set off circles of mutually perpetuating fears. And, if fear and distrust grow in the West, there will, indeed, be rejoicing in the East—and Stalin shall have been proved a prophet.

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THE GREAT CHLOROPHYLL MADNESS

by Bruce Bliven

WE AMERICANS are a wonderful people. In 1952 we have had time and energy enough for a hot war in Korea, a cold war everywhere else, the problem of inflation, a Presidential election and a nationwide hysteria over the unlikely subject of chlorophyll.

Everyone has lost track of the number of products now on the market advertised to contain this substance, supposed to be a miracle deodorant, but it is certainly well over a hundred and increasing hour by hour. The list includes not only such obvious items as toothpastes, mouth washes and chewing gum but more recondite substances like cigarettes, pipe tobacco, toilet paper, candies, inner soles, sport shirts, analgesics, shampoos, reducing pills, moth balls, foot pads, and cloths for washing your dog. Sales this year will be well over $100 million.

Naturally, the gagsters are having fun with the latest craze. Earl Wilson reports a new product said to contain both aspirin and chlorophyll: "for a stinking headache." Several florists had the same bright idea of advertising that "our flowers are positively guaranteed to contain chlorophyll." Random House publishes a full-page advertisement for one of its books with the simple slogan: "The American College Dictionary Contains Chlorophyll." An item of news with an ironic twist is the report from Lake Worth, Fla., that the City Commissioners had to issue a cease-and-desist order against a manufacturing plant there whose operations impregnated the whole neighborhood with a foul smell. The plant produced—you have guessed it—chlorophyll.

That this substance is an important one in nature, no one can deny. Chlorophyll is the green substance, found in practically all plants, which aids in photosynthesis, the process of turning carbon dioxide and water, in the presence of sunlight, into carbohydrates (sugars and starches). There is, however, no real evidence that chlorophyll does any of the things on which the present commercial enterprise is based; quite possibly, the entire $100 million now spent annually is being wasted.

There seems reliable evidence that almost pure chlorophyll (a 90-percent concentration) applied to a chronic, festering wound has a deodorizing effect, for reasons that are still a mystery; that is the *only* fact on which science is agreed. Some doctors believe that pure chlorophyll also hastens the healing of wounds; others deny it. No authority is willing to go any farther. One scientist points out that taken internally, chlorophyll could not affect the odor of onion, garlic or alcohol on the breath, which comes out of the lungs, or of perspiration, which comes through the skin.

In the interest of science, a group of people were persuaded to go without bathing for several days, until they reached the point where by general admission they would be a menace in a crowded, unventilated room. Then half of them were given white pills that contained chlorophyll, and the other half, green pills that did not. In no time at all, as might be expected, the people who had taken the innocuous green pills were sure that they were now socially acceptable, while those who had swallowed the chlorophyll without knowing it continued to be covered with shame.

Even if pure chlorophyll had the deodorizing effect claimed for it, the chance of getting enough to be effective would be remote. Chlorophyll is extracted commercially from alfalfa, at the rate of four to six pounds from each ton, and is then made soluble in water, a rather complicated and difficult procedure. It costs about $100 per pound. Common sense will tell you that such products as toothpaste selling at 50 or 60 cents a tube will not contain very much of such an expensive ingredient, and independent laboratory analysis shows that this is indeed the case. Some commercial products contain just enough for coloring; several dentrifices have one percent or less.

These facts probably would not matter to the customers who, as usual, are looking for a miracle. A year or two ago, ammoniated toothpastes, supposed to slow down tooth decay, were put on the market and made heavy inroads on the earlier kind which had no merit beyond tasting good or containing abrasives which would brighten your teeth (while also scouring off some of the enamel). No sooner had the makers of the ammoniated product contentedly consolidated their gains than the chlorophyll avalanche descended on them. Some have compromised by hastily adding the necessary green tint to their ammoniated product; those that elected to fight it out have seen their sales curve shooting down. Meanwhile, the slaves in the advertising agencies on Madison Avenue are happily chanting to one another the pertinent query:

Why reeks the goat
On yonder hill
Who seems to dote
On chlorophyll?

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BALANCE OF POWER—AN OLD HABIT

A POLITICAL "battle of Europe" for the direction and leadership of the European unity effort was waged with unusual intensity while US attention was fixed on the final phases of the election campaign—intense because European leaders want to present the next US President with a *fait accompli* of *their* kind of Europe.

The contest was waged behind the scenes in London, the Vatican City, Rome, Bonn, Paris and openly in Luxemburg and in Strasbourg, at the most important sessions ever held by the Council of Europe.

On one side were leading spokesmen for the "quick federationist" attitude which flows primarily from France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg, the six nations in the two smaller of the three new Western European organizations: the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Defense Community. Opposing them were spokesmen for the third and largest organization, the Council of Europe, which in addition to these six has nine other members, Great Britain and the Scandinavian and Balkan nations.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany, Premier Alcide De Gasperi of Italy and Foreign Minister Robert Schuman of France lead the first faction. The London *Observer* calls them "the three grand old men of Europe, who have set out . . . to give their peoples that political unity, which in their judgment, can alone secure their future." They happen—not quite incidentally—also to be principal figures in Christian Democratic political parties, faithful sons of the Catholic Church, and ardent fighters for the Vatican's goal of a "Christian Europe."

At Strasbourg, they asked that firm political bases for a continental "Little Europe," potentially sovereign and relatively independent of non-European influences, be established before the election of a new US President. On the eve of the Strasbourg meeting, Pope Pius XII gave it his blessing in a statement which cast aside all neutrality. He told the Pax Christi organization that the Church supports "with all the force of her sacrifices and prayers. . . the political personalities aware of their responsibility and [who] are working for the unification of Europe."

Leader of the second faction was British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden. He spoke for both the Tory government and for important elements in the Labour Party, and not only for dominant opinion in the nations outside ECSC and EDC but also for vital minorities within them—many Socialists and anti-clerical liberals. He pleaded for a slower pace aimed at an essentially Atlanticist "Big Europe," part of a larger pattern than Western European federalism or con-federalism, closer to Anglo-Saxon concepts of social and economic progress, to the Western complex of modern and material power, than to those of Vatican City. Above all, it would avoid implications of reaction and suspicions of neutralism.

Eden argued that, while "all are agreed that Europe must be kept together if it is to survive. . . some countries are going forward toward new forms of unity" while "others do not feel able to proceed so fast." This new form was suggested by the *Observer*:

> If and when the new Western European Federation is established, Britain will live doorstep to doorstep with a new giant . . . with a larger population than America and a larger industrial potential than Russia. Emergence of this new superpower will completely alter the nature and internal balance of the Alantic Community; it will, in ways yet unforeseeable, set into motion new pulls and pressure in the unsettled and disputed areas of Central and Eastern Europe; it will make its presence felt throughout the world as a new trade center and power factor.

The London *Times*, also seeing such a prospect, had doubts about the way a body of "consultants," without real political power, were trying to speed up the course of history. It said:

> No European Federation in any general sense is yet in prospect because of the clear difference between the "immediate task of political association for specific purposes" of the six ECSC nations and the broader, long-term needs of the nine others of the Council.

Eden's reservations, it said, "gain force from every occasion on which the Consultative Assembly [of the Council] goes out of its ground or approves far-reaching projects with insufficient thought." The reference was to a series of ambitious schemes brought up at Strasbourg under the influence of "Little Europeans"—the constitutional convention; a new European Supreme Court of Justice; a new military strategy of "equal defense" for big and little countries alike; an elaborate pattern of tariff revision and a bank for overseas development; a plan for co-ordinating inland transport; and a project for helping refugees from the Soviet satellites.

For each of these activities, the *Times* pointed out, there were already in existence "other bodies [which] are in fact responsible." Herr Adenauer, Signor De Gasperi and M. Schuman might be Europe's elder statesmen, but it was the British position that they were not yet its masters, superseding all others. And after a long series of decisions favoring "Little Europe," the final vote was for the British proposal to give Britain and the other non-member nations of the ECSC an observer role, hence the power of a brake.

But the victory was less pro-British than it was anti-German. For French, Belgian and Dutch delegates came over to the Eden line when it became clear that the Italians at Strasbourg, opposing the line, were speaking not only for their own Vatican-influenced Christian Democracy but also for the equally Catholic Germans; and that they were trying not so much to "save" the new Europe from British and US control as to make the Coal and Steel Community a "New Pact of Steel" taking the place of the one made by Mussolini and Hitler, but this time under the benevolent sponsorship of Vatican City. Certainly, the extraordinary pro-German tone of the Pope's speech to Pax Christi did not conflict with such an interpretation.

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THE NIGHT DEWEY WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT

by Richard Strout

FOUR YEARS AGO this week the Chicago *Tribune* elected Dewey President. In an early night edition it went on the street with the eight-column banner headline, "Dewey Defeats Truman." Shortly thereafter it sent out circulation men to call in copies of the "GOP Victory" edition. The circulation men had to compete with readers, however, who made the copies collectors' items by offering dealers as much as a dollar a copy.

The Chicago *Tribune* was not the only one. In fact the American press was wholly and completely wrong in one of the greatest journalistic debacles in history. Explain it away as much as it will, the Gallup Poll was wrong, the Roper Poll was wrong, the New York *Times* pre-convention survey was wrong and—well, let me face it—I was wrong, too. Yes, we all went down together.

Now four years have passed, and it is time to clean out the 1948 election folder and make way for the 1952 folder which—this week—becomes past history. But as I turn over the yellowing pages I cannot refrain from reading them and bringing back rueful memories.

First item is from *Editor & Publisher,* Oct. 30, 1948, recording that "in terms of circulation, the ratio of newspaper support is eight to one for Dewey over Truman." That seems very up-to-date, more so than any other item in the collection; the newspapers today are Republican by only a little higher margin; I believe it is 80.5 percent instead of 80 percent. Since "1948" had not happened in October, 1948, there was nothing to warn newspapermen at that time of the self-hypnosis that comes from reading each other's editorial pages. But the story was not confined simply to newspapers.

Here is a piece by Alden Hatch from *Harper's* of October, 1948, entitled "The Men Around Dewey." The men around Dewey it seems were a pretty fine bunch who would make a cracker-jack team when they got to Washington. There was no doubt expressed that they would get there; Elliott Bell "may be expected to make a more determined attack on inflation," and as for the candidate, "one of Dewey's first moves as President will be to straighten out the tangle into which the unification of the armed services has fallen."

One rubs one's eyes after going through this folder; is it really true that Dewey hasn't been President these past four years?

There is a nice *Saturday Evening Post* piece by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, October 16, 1948, entitled, "What Kind of President Will Dewey Make?" I always envy high-powered columnists who can sell a piece to a high-toned magazine telling what will happen and then sell an equally excellent article at the same high price explaining why it didn't happen. Well, it appeared, Dewey would make a fine President; as the Alsops pithily put it, Dewey is "the most important American political leader of the year 1948 and perhaps for a good many years to come. . . ." Ho, hum.

What is this next batch of paper? It is written on yellow Western Union press sheets, dated June 5, in my own handwriting. Goodness me, these are notes on one of the most embarrassing spectacles I ever attended, the time nobody showed up at Truman's first, pathetic political speech at the Ak-Sar-Ben amphitheater at Omaha, Nebr.—an event that helped convince newspapers Harry had no chance. The hall held 10,000 and only 2,000 came; halfway through the speech the television spotlights turned off Truman and mercilessly wandered about the empty hall while the President gamely continued—watching the heartless exposure of his own failure.

Yes, here is what I jotted down—"acts tired and half stunned" . . . "gasp of amazement as reporters entered the place . . . brutal affront . . . reporters muttered 'brutal'." Everyone immediately knew Truman hadn't a chance.

Here is a clipping from the New York *Herald-Tribune* of September 9: "Dewey Is Almost Certain To Win, Roper Poll Finds." In the following analysis, Mr. Roper explains that although the event is foregone, "a campaign cannot be regarded as wholly useless." This is because "somebody always stands a chance of shoving himself up or of helping elect others on his ticket." Who that someone may be Mr. Roper has no idea. Perhaps this is because "the winner clinches his victory early in the race and before he has uttered a word of campaign oratory." (An analysis by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center found that the 1948 result was actually created by a last-minute shift, in the final two weeks; probably the same interval that will decide the 1952 result.)

The October 8 issue of *US News & World Report* recorded that "A Dewey victory in November is certain the way things stand." The Luce publications could not be so bitter because Dewey's victory was evident.

The June 21 issue of *Life* had an article, "The Tru-

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man Train Stumbles West," which featured the Omaha debacle but did not catch up with the fact that the next day the little man had talked to big, enthusiastic crowds. The *Life* pictorial layout showed a solitary soldier standing guard in an empty street and captioned it, "Lonely soldier faces outward to what should have been crowds along President's route in Cheyenne. Crowds were small everywhere." The fact here was that the big crowd had all run back to the Governor's mansion to hear Truman talk, and the empty street scene was thereupon snapped. The process of elaborate self-deception was underway.

The New York *Times'* careful survey of October 11 reported that "Big Labor Vote for President Will Not Win Larger States." The *Times*, here and in later surveys, was conscientious as it always is and wrong as it sometimes is.

Then dawned election day. Reporters frenziedly stopped presses, but for most it was too late. The nation held its sides in laughter. A funereal pall draped the National Press Club bar in Washington. Columnists looked around with wild astonishment. The matter of embarrassment became merely relative. Those alive searched the field to see the wounds and casualties of others. Here are some of them.

Kiplinger Magazine, the monthly publication of the Washington agency, was already in print with three-fourths of its November issue devoted to the subject "What Dewey Will Do." The *Kiplinger Letter* of October 30 said that the Dewey election would be all over by Tuesday midnight.

The New York *Times* predicted Dewey would get "345" probable electoral votes (he got 189); the *Herald-Tribune* "330 to 350"; the New York *Sun* gave him 32 states (he carried 16); the *Journal-American*, a minimum of "27 states." *Newsweek's* pre-election survey by 50 prominent Washington correspondents gave Dewey "366" electoral votes.

How did the columnists fare? Well—

The Alsop brothers started their pre-released column on Wednesday, "Events will not wait patiently until Thomas E. Dewey officially replaces Harry S. Truman. . . ."

Marquis Childs asked gloomily what would become of the Democratic Party.

Frederick C. Othman in the *World-Telegram* said that while the ballots had not been counted yet (on Tuesday) "I see no further need for holding up an affectionate farewell to Harry Truman."

Peter Edson, NEA staff writer: "If President-elect Thomas E. Dewey's administration shows up with much controversial legislation. . . ."

Drew Pearson, New York *Mirror*, Wednesday: "I surveyed the close-knit group around Tom Dewey, who will take over the White House 86 days from now." He gave a lineup of the Dewey cabinet.

The Baltimore *Sun's* Frank Kent observed at this point that some day the betting odds, the prophets, the "trained observers" and all the other paraphernalia for predicting the outcome might simultaneously go wrong in a Presidential election, but so far "no such miracle has ever occurred in American politics."

Life magazine went out on its own irresponsible limb well ahead of the rest, carrying on its November 1 issue a full-page picture of Governor and Mrs. Dewey, captioned, "The next President travels by ferryboat over the broad waters of San Francisco Bay."

Columnists Bob Considine, John O'Donnell, Walter Lippmann and others generally made similar bad guesses.

Only a sadist would torture fellow-journalists further. But how fared the wizards of the sample polls, the modern entrail-pickers of the scientific Delphic oracle?

The Roper Poll has already been dealt with.

Soothsayer George Gallup in later days has argued that he came close to predicting the result, but in his last report, October 31, he wrote: "Gov. Thomas E. Dewey will win the Presidential election with a substantial majority of electoral votes."

Prognosticator Archibald N. Crossley announced in his final poll October 29, "Governor Dewey and Governor Warren are assured of election."

Well, everybody but the press had a great time in 1948, and nobody enjoyed it more than the public which had idly watched papers pick, back and elect a candidate, and then gave its own comment on the matter at the polls with a hearty guffaw.

Reporters' faces burned, but it was left to James (Scotty) Reston of the New York *Times*, perhaps the ablest front-line journalist in America today, to meet the situation differently. He wrote a letter to his own editor, and it was given first place in the *Times'* letter column of November 4, 1948. Newspapermen, he said soberly, had lost touch with the man in the street. There were too many special trains and scientific polls. "The great intangible of the election," he concluded, "was the political influence of the Roosevelt era on the thinking of the nation. . . . We didn't give much weight to it. Consequently we were wrong, not only on the election, but what's worse, on the whole political direction of our time."

This was a handsome and honest apology to which this reporter and others tacitly subscribed. And so November 3, 1948, will always remain—among newspapermen—the day the sun stood still. Many a cheek will burn in memory. Because it happened the predictions of 1952 have been a great deal more moderate.

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II. CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT—AND COMPETENCE

by Francis Biddle

THE OPENING of government service to outstanding men—men of character, technical training and unusual intelligence—is in my opinion the key to the problem of corruption in government.

In a certain sense this problem is comparatively new. Fifty years ago the decisions of government didn't much matter. We could get along pretty well without government, or with its functioning only in such standardized and accepted fields as delivery of the mails, the support of a modest navy and small army, the repudiation of any co-operation in international policy. James Bryce wrote in *The American Commonwealth* 60 years ago: "In a foreign policy. . . the United States has little to do. . . . The problems are far fewer and usually far simpler than those of the Old World. . . and the likelihood of any danger from abroad is so slender that it may be practically ignored."

Today all this is changed. The government's vast welfare program will continue, under the impact of the modern industrial age, under any administration, Democratic or Republican, with its enormously increased opportunities for corruption. Vast military outlays will probably be necessary for many years to come, under a totally new foreign policy for which we have had but little experience in the past. All these aspects of a new world make essential the use of experts and of first-rate laymen in our public service. How to get them?

There is no magic road, no automatic blueprint. We must change our way of thinking, inherited from an earlier, simpler age, stemming from Jackson's day, when a spoils system could draw false moral sanction from the tenet of a new nation with a new democratic faith. If all men were equal, it was argued, any man, particularly in handling the simple problems which faced the public servant of the day, could resolve them as well as any other. Why not rotate and give each deserving Democrat his earned chance to share in the fruits of victory? And, if, to oversimplify, the early Democratic tradition rested on considerations of the small man, usually agrarian, the Republican looked more to the city, to the manufacturing interests, grasped at the tariff, ran the country in the interests of business, believing that the business outlook particularly in the reconstruction days that followed the Civil War was the only sound approach, necessary for those expanding days. Of course business was a partner of politics.

I have argued that any attempt to obtain competent men in public service will tend to insure a more honest performance. I do not mean, of course, that competent men are necessarily more honest than their less gifted brothers. But men of ability who are attracted into government service are motivated in many cases by their ambition to perform disinterested work, rather than to make larger salaries in the private field.

The application of the present Civil Service techniques to men destined for the higher classifications, both in jobs requiring administrative responsibility and special technical skills, has not, I believe, been as successful as it might. The Civil Service tests can be made more flexible, more realistic and more calculated to result in the selection of outstanding men.

As Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney wrote in the article to which I have already referred:

> . . . a career service to be effective must be freed from the red tape and gobbledygook that now surround too much of our Civil Service system. . . . New standards, simplified personnel procedures, in short a modern personnel system similar to that used in successful industrial operations, must be instituted. Opportunities must be extended to younger men of ability by cutting out some of the undergrowth of complicated Civil Service rules and restrictions that destroy its efficiency and the ambition of able workers.

He goes on to suggest that the Civil Service Commission should appoint a special assistant whose job would be to create "a blue-ribbon civil service set-up."

Such an experiment has already been made with respect to lawyers in the government service with striking results. When I was Solicitor General in 1941, President Roosevelt established by executive order the Board of Legal Examiners within the Civil Service Commission, but with complete and autonomous powers, to determine the regulations and procedures governing the recruitment and examination of applicants for attorney positions within the government. This action was the result of a recommendation of a Committee on Civil Service Improvement appointed in 1939 by the President to make a comprehensive study of the problem. The Committee emphasized that "close contact with the profession and the needs of the law offices of the government" were "necessary for effective selection of legal personnel."

I served during the balance of my term as Solicitor

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General as Chairman of the Board and became thoroughly conversant with its work. The Board was composed of outstanding lawyers in government service, in private practice or engaged in teaching at law schools. Its work lasted over a period of approximately three years. It established an unranked register, held approximately 15,000 written and 3,000 oral examinations. Although an adequate appropriation was voted by Congress initially, it was believed that the Board should have statutory approval before being granted funds in later years. For this purpose a bill, introduced by Rep. Robert Ramspeck, at that time Chairman of the House Civil Service Committee, passed the House, but was disapproved in the Senate committee, largely, I believe, because of a misunderstanding of the scope and nature of the Board's work. The American Bar Association and the Federal Bar Association endorsed its work and the legislation to continue it.

The striking success of the new techniques adopted by the Board in bringing able lawyers into the government service was based on two major policies. The first was its close co-operation with the bench and bar throughout the country. The members of the Board and of its small staff (half a dozen men with an annual salary budget of less than $28,000) managed to enlist prominent lawyers and judges to conduct the oral examinations—39 federal and 26 state judges were among the 400 lawyers who carried out, without pay, this part of the program.

Second, the examinations, both written and oral, were based on determining a candidate's ability, rather than his knowledge; the "capacity for performing the duties of a position rather than the memorization of relevant information or the paper record of the individual." The examiners were primarily interested in professional competence. To carry out this purpose the written tests, which stood at the threshold so to speak—you had to clear this hurdle before reaching your orals—were in part devoted to testing general, non-legal intelligence; and the legal questions were aimed at bringing out ability, imagination and judgment. It would be pretty hard to cram up on such non-mechanical and human values!

The oral tests given locally, in the man's own community, followed out this approach. His past achievement could be valued; he was observed directly, examined for one or two hours, asked about subjects he knew or was supposed to know. If he had said in his written application that he had practiced law three years, he was questioned about his practice in detail—had he ever tried a case, argued a motion? And it might turn out that his practice had consisted chiefly in filing papers in City Hall. If there were any doubts as to his character they were investigated.

The instructions to the state examination boards showed what the federal board was after. They did not rely on the blind guess of mechanical criteria. Did the candidate have "the capacity to attack a problem in a professional manner and state a conclusion in clear-cut legal terms?" The rating chart included such considerations as "fluency, conciseness, precision, grammar and sentence structure." (As a former bureaucrat this test seems to me of first importance, remembering the half literate letters coming up for my signature, that had to be sent back, day after day.) And I find this instruction, which sounds almost subversive in the year 1952, when we have learned to worship the twin gods of Orthodox and Second-Rate: "Intellectual and emotional concern with contemporary problems are regarded as an asset rather than a liability, so long as they are held within the wide ambit of loyalty to democratic methods of procedure." The examiners, you see, were after men of imagination and vision, men who could be independent when the time came. But, of course, the search for such rare qualities must not exclude legal reasoning, logical organization, effectiveness in argument, theoretical and practical insight, thoroughness.

In its report to the President (June, 1945) the Board observed that arithmetical grading could identify such accurately measurable qualities as speed and accuracy in typing or competence in figuring. But it was quite a different matter to apply such formulas to "the complex and subtle factors which enter into the qualifications of a lawyer. . . . Skill in negotiating, judgment in deciding upon a course of action, and ability to work with others cannot be assigned numerical weights."

I should mention one more important characteristic of these new and highly successful techniques—the unranked register. Under existing Civil Service procedures the official making the appointment has to select from the three top men on the register. This inflexible requirement has proved to be a nuisance. There is no reason to limit the choice, as long as you stick to an approved and carefully recruited list; moreover it is essential that a bureau chief should be given wide discretion in choosing the sort of man *he* thinks would fill the position, within the broad protection of the register itself.

The Board recognized that written examinations are not appropriate for the higher grades. Applicants for such positions have already made their records, achieved a standing, won (or lost) a reputation. Many a lawyer

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today of outstanding reputation would have difficulty in passing a state bar examination which a youngster fresh from the law school would take in his stride without too much difficulty. The higher positions, the Board believed, should be largely filled by promotions through non-competitive examinations, chiefly oral. By combining the two methods—highly competitive examinations for the younger men, and promotions within the service—fresh blood was drawn into the body of government from the outside, preventing inbreeding; and, at the same time the ideal of a career service sustained by promoting men at the top.

What I have said applies not merely to lawyers, but to members of other professions engaged in public work—engineers, doctors, agronomists, social workers. At present the Civil Service administration appraises the applicant's relevant past experience in assigning grades for past positions. By an Executive Order issued in February, 1947, provision is made for "committees of examiners expert in their respective fields" for scientific, professional and technical positions, and for boards of examiners for positions in the field services. If a position is peculiar to an agency, the Board is composed of employees in the agency; if positions common to several agencies are involved, they are represented on the Board. Recent annual reports of the Civil Service Commission show progress in improving the selection of natural scientists, aided by the co-operation of about 700 scientists in the general field. In 1947 College-Federal Service Councils were established to recruit college-trained personnel for the government.

The Hoover Commission Task Force Report noted that since 1940 the number of field examining boards has been quadrupled, and "about 123 agency committees of expert examiners" have been established in Washington "to announce and hold special examinations for positions peculiar to the agency." The report endorses this trend, and recommends that it be extended generally, and particularly to "all high-level administrative, professional and technical positions." Finally, the Hoover Commission's own report recommends that all applicants should be grouped into general categories—"outstanding," "well-qualified," "qualified," "unqualified." Appointing officers would be confined only to the limits of the highest category.

Several of the Hoover Commission's recommendations were embodied in a bill introduced in the last Congress and passed by the Senate, notably the use of general category ratings for scientific and professional positions. A very interesting innovation is a provision that the Civil Service Commission may approve "employment plans" under which the agencies undertake their own recruiting and examining. Such a change would tend to break up the immense centralization—and therefore inevitable standardization—of federal civil service administration, and would make the service far more responsive to the needs of the departments.

Many of the methods used by the Board of Legal Examiners 10 years ago have filtered into civil service. The applicant's past experience in assigning grades for advanced positions is, for instance, appraised. But the records reflecting this experience are often sketchy. And no paper record is completely adequate, although interviews with the applicant's associates are sometimes used. But they cannot be nearly as useful as the type of oral examination which I have described. The service is developing, becoming less rigid, relying less on the results of written examinations, often misleading if not checked by oral tests and previous employment records. Professional examiners and advisers are subordinated to the government personnel administrators. Unlike the Board of Legal Examiners, which was independent of the Civil Service Commission and drew its strength and influence because it *spoke* for the profession, the new group of experts supply professional advice at lower levels, and the profession is looked to for suggestion rather than for control of standards. This difference goes to the essence.

The techniques I have described worked well even under the crowded and pressing conditions of a nation at war. There is no apparent reason why they could not be set up in other fields of specialized service. The link between government and the professions, inherent in the plan, has not only the obvious advantage of insuring skilled judgment in selecting men after detailed oral examinations, but tends to create a subtler if less measurable good. It builds morale. Respect by the public for government service is enormously important. It is not strikingly evident at this particular moment. The professional *esprit de corps* that would result from a closer functioning between government and the professions would be of immense value to the public service. Professional men worth their salt are proud of their standing in their own profession. Until pride and public respect are brought to the profession of government service, with the dignity which should accompany the sense of work well done, and done for the common weal, the government will not attract really first-rate men. And not only are first-rate men needed in the growing complexity of the world, but they are ready to enlist if their service becomes an honorable career where merit is recognized and encouraged.

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VISHINSKY — HONEY FOR VITRIOL

by Joseph P. Lash

UNTIL THIS WEEK, developments at the United Nations Assembly have been dominated by the Soviet bloc and the underdeveloped countries. The NATO powers have been motionless, waiting for the American elections to end.

This is true even though the United States and 20 cosponsors have introduced a resolution which calls on the North Koreans and Chinese to conclude a Korean armistice on the basis of non-forcible repatriation. Everyone was aware, however, that this was an opening gambit aimed more at getting Vishinsky to show his hand than at effecting the stalemated talks at Panmunjom. Several of the sponsors justified their support of the resolution by saying "it can do no harm."

Secretary of State Acheson has made two full dress speeches, both notable for their moderation. He is personally handling the Korean issue, but the absence, until this weekend, of Eden and Schuman made it clear that the real work of the Assembly is only about to begin.

These three weeks have, however, been full of provocative developments bearing on the possibility of a new Soviet policy. Excitement began when a startled UN learned that Moscow was sending its top-ranking diplomats to New York. This was taken as proof that the new Kremlin line heralded by Stalin's article would be unveiled at the Assembly.

Veteran diplomats had only to recall how Maxim Litvinov used Geneva to get in some of the most effective blows for the popular-front collective-security line of the thirties to appreciate that his successor, with more guile and less good will, might see in the current Assembly unparalleled opportunities to advance new Soviet goals. These goals are believed to be the gaining of a breathing spell in which the Communist world can consolidate its postwar gains while promoting dissension and disintegration within the capitalistic world. In other words, a shift from "cold war to cold peace."

Soviet strategists can well calculate that by means of a little "diplomacy" good harvests could be reaped in this Assembly in two troublesome areas: Far Eastern policy on which the US and NATO disagree among themselves and with Asian powers like India; and the "colonial issue" on which the industrialized West is ranged against underdeveloped nations.

Litvinov's arrival at Geneva was heralded by a Soviet pronouncement that the League of Nations had ceased to be a "League of Imperialist Robbers." In a milder way the Vishinsky task force at the Assembly was preceded by the enunciation of a friendlier Russian attitude toward the UN, disclosed in Malenkov's recent report to the Party Congress which said: "The Government of the USSR attaches more importance to the UNO, holding that it could be an important instrument for maintaining peace."

While this is something less than a passionate declaration of faith it does mark a decided change in emphasis from Stalin's 1951 statement on the UN which was littered with such phrases as that the UN "was ceasing to be a world organization," "dooming itself to disintegration," "taking the inglorious road of the League of Nations."

The massive Soviet delegation to the Assembly promptly began to enact the new line: never has the UN seen such a gregarious group of Iron Curtain emissaries. The delegation carries on an active diplomacy—buttonholing delegates, entertaining, horse-trading, arm-twisting. Most of the affability is directed at the Asian and Middle Eastern countries that have displayed neutralist tendencies in the East-West conflict.

Thus Vishinsky was host to Indian, Indonesian, Burmese, Pakistani and Iranian delegations, the five countries that supported the Soviet bloc's motion to invite representatives of North Korea during the Assembly's Korean debate. There was evidence of some horse-trading in the closely contested vote for the sixth place on the Economic and Social Council. Yugoslavia beat out Czechoslovakia on the thirteenth ballot, but the latter's vote never fell below 17. Since the Soviet bloc accounts for five votes, the additional 12 are believed to have come from the Asian-African group in return for expected Soviet support on issues such as Tunis and Morocco.

The Soviet approach on Far Eastern issues has undergone a significant change since the 1950 and 1951 Assemblies. On the matter of Chinese representation the USSR limited itself to requesting the unseating of Nationalist Chinese representatives on the ground that they did not speak for the people of China. It did not press for the seating of Red China. UN observers believe that had the Russians employed this tactic in the fall of 1950 before the Chinese invaded Korea, they would have been successful in ousting the Nationalists.

Soviet proposals for a Korean settlement are also much more modest. Issues such as Chinese representation and

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Formosa are no longer lumped together with Korea as they were in the winter of 1950-51 when the Chinese armies were winning. Even the Polish grab-bag resolution, in so far as it deals with the Far East, limits itself to Korea. What this would seem to mean is that the Russians have become aware that without a Korean settlement it is useless to raise these other issues. It also suggests that they regard a Korean settlement by them as likely in the near future. Then issues like the seating of Red China would be practical politics again.

Moreover Soviet proposals are presented in an unusual tone of compromise and moderation. Vishinsky's speeches lack the old vitriol. This is true even if on closer examination seemingly conciliatory language and proposals turn out to be "misleading and disingenuous."

The real key to Soviet intentions, however, is the Korean armistice debate. Only one issue stands in the way of a cease-fire: the prisoner-of-war stalemate. Although the US prevented discussion of the armistice negotiations at the Paris Assembly because it feared such a discussion might actually impede conclusion of an armistice, our position is different this year. Acheson, opening the Korean debate, said it was the UN's first duty to ascertain whether the aggressor wanted an armistice on honorable terms, essentially on the basis of voluntary repatriation.

The Soviet answer is still unclear. In fact there have already been three answers, and there is a well-founded report that a fourth and decisive one was being reserved for after election day. First was the Polish resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire, repatriation of all prisoners in accordance with international agreement, withdrawal of foreign troops and the unification of Korea. This was old hat and shed no light on the crucial prisoner-of-war issue.

The second was contained in Vishinsky's speech in which he called attention to what he called the "new" proposals of the Communist negotiators. They had been handed in at Panmunjom, he said, on October 8, the day General Harrison recessed the talks. Vishinsky accused the Unified Command of having suppressed the offer. Acheson analyzed these proposals in his magnificent two-and-three-quarter hour speech on Korea and showed that while they contained some new language designed to sound conciliatory, they boiled down to the forced repatriation.

This set the stage for Vishinsky's third move during a 219-minute speech on Korea. The Soviet Foreign Minister distinguished between "forcible screening" which he said was tantamount to forcible detention and "voluntary repatriation." He further underscored this distinction by a little homily on the impossibility of a prisoner freely expressing his will in a PW camp with a machine gun trained on him. Since Vishinsky was aware that the Unified Command has several times offered to permit a rescreening under neutral or any other auspices, his willingness to call attention to a distinction between compulsory screening and voluntary repatriation suggested he was keeping that door open to a possible compromise.

Another point that attracted considerable interest was Vishinsky's admission that there could be exceptions to total repatriation. He insisted that international law obligated the return of all prisoners, but in the face of Acheson's proof that the USSR itself had made exceptions, conceded there could be deviations from the norm by special agreement. This brought from Henri Hoppenot of France the following query: Would you be prepared to join with us in examining whether now in Korea we have special circumstances that might justify a special agreement on repatriation?

Whether these two points represent a slow edging toward compromise depends on the central problem which Vishinsky left ambiguous. "I am not clear," said Selwyn Lloyd of Britain, "after Mr. Vishinsky's detailed speech of yesterday what his position is on forcible repatriation of prisoners who fear for their lives or liberty if they are returned. Is he in favor of that or against it?"

There is a substantial body of opinion at the UN which believes Vishinsky's bait is spurious, that he has no intention of coming through with a serious compromise, and that his only object is to mislead the neutralist countries in order to keep the UN from taking resolute action in Korea.

Others, however, predict there will be a solution to the prisoner issue forthcoming soon because the Kremlin now realizes that without a Korean armistice there can be little advance toward the twin Communist goals of consolidation of the Communist world and disintegration of the rest. Consolidation requires the unification of Korea, the seating of Red China in the UN, withdrawal of American troops from Japan and Korea and ending American protection of Formosa. These are also the issues on which the US is most likely to find itself at loggerheads with its allies, especially if the Communists are prepared to offer France and Britain the special inducement of ending the wars in Indo-China and Malaya.

If this latter analysis should prove correct, great statesmanship will be required if the US is to turn the tables and promote policies causing a loosening of the ties binding Red China and Russia, while drawing the non-Communist nations of Asia more firmly into a free world coalition.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

EDMUND WILSON'S SPECIMEN DAYS

by Malcolm Cowley

THIS is the first book by Edmund Wilson that has seemed to me rather too long—it has 826 pages—and a little hard to read consecutively. *The Shores of Light* is a selection from the articles that he contributed to various magazines, but chiefly to the *New Republic,* from 1922 to 1940. They have been revised, in many cases shortened or expanded, and they are set in perspective by three backward-looking essays written in 1951-52. Many of the articles are brilliant and every one of the 97 is worth reprinting; the only question is whether they all belong in the same book.

THE SHORES OF LIGHT, by Edmund Wilson (Farrar, Straus & Young; $6.50).

Wilson tells us in a foreword that *The Shores of Light* started out to be one sort of book and was partly transformed into another. It started as a companion volume to *Classics and Commercials,* published two years ago, which was a 544-page selection from the literary articles that Wilson had published in the 1940s. Most of these had appeared in the *New Yorker* and, in spite of their treating a variety of subjects, they had an effective unity of tone. When Wilson tried to make a similar selection from his articles of the twenties and thirties, he found that he was dealing with a longer and livelier period when his own interests had been more diversified.

> I have therefore included [he says] some youthful stuff that can only, if at all, be of interest from an historical point of view—in showing how it looked to a contemporary; and I have not confined myself, as in the earlier volume, to essays and reviews, but have admitted dialogues, jeux d'esprit, satires, short sketches and personal letters. I have even put in a few pieces that do not deal with writing at all, but these, too, are intended to contribute to a general picture of the culture of a recklessly unspecialized era, when minds and imaginations were exploring in all directions.

The book, then, has been partly transformed into a memoir and panorama of twenty years in American literature, but the transformation hasn't been complete. It still contains many articles that, dealing as they do with earlier writers like Swift, Pope, Byron, Tennyson and C. L. Dodgson, cast no great light on the period under review. One essay, on "The Satire of Samuel Butler," appeared in the first edition of *The Triple Thinkers* (1938), but was removed from a later edition to make room for new material. Good as it is—and it isn't Wilson's best—it has no particular place in a chronicle of the twenties and thirties. On the other hand, many essays and sketches that would contribute to the literary picture of the time (like the famous "Three Limperary Cripples") have been ruled out of it because they are obtainable in other collections of Wilson's work. The result is that the book lacks completeness as well as unity; it is partly a brilliant chronicle, partly the source materials for such a chronicle and partly a sort of filing cabinet.

Yet how much valuable work has been assembled in this cabinet, as if for easy reference! Two pieces that call for special mention are the prologue and the epilogue, both newly written. The prologue is a tribute to Dean Gauss of Princeton, who, in his courses on Dante and Flaubert, explained the Latin, classical and hence non-English standards that Wilson and his friends would try to embody in their work. "He made us all want to write something," Wilson says, "in which every word, every cadence, every detail, should perform a definite function in producing an intense effect."

There were teachers something like Gauss at other universities—for example, Irving Babbitt at Harvard had much the same influence on his literary students, though he exerted it in a narrower and angrier way—and Wilson's long prologue helps to define a central purpose of the new poets and novelists who appeared after World War I. The still longer epilogue is a memoir to Edna St. Vincent Millay, with whom Wilson reveals that he was in love for many years. He regards her as a poet not inferior to Eliot, Auden or Yeats, a judgment that few of us would accept; but his memoir helps us to appreciate her personal courage and her value as a tragic representative of the age.

Except for the prologue and epilogue, and except for a remarkably balanced study of "Woodrow Wilson at Princeton," published in this journal in 1927, it is not the longer articles or the formal essays that distinguish *The Shores of Light.* More impressive when we come to reread them are the casual reviews that Wilson was writing week by week. In these he displayed his special gift for introducing new writers and for making progress reports on their work.

Thus in the autumn of 1924 he wrote the first criticism of Ernest Hemingway that appeared in this country. It begins, "Mr. Hemingway's poems are not particularly important, but his prose is of the first distinction." Usually Wilson has this simple way of launching into a new subject. One of his 1933 reviews starts by saying:

> Nobody on our side of the Atlantic has yet written anything, so far as I know, about André Malraux, the French novelist; and, though I have read only two of his half-dozen books and am unable to deal with his works in any thoroughgoing fashion, I want to bring this fascinating and profitable writer to the attention of American readers.

Wilson was always bringing fascinating and profitable writers to our attention, and he never made us feel that he was displaying his own subtlety and wit and invention at their expense. In these later days a good many critics seem to be yielding to the vice of ostentation; criticism has exfoliated until the work of art is sometimes smothered be-

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neath it, like a tree covered with fox grapes and Virginia creeper. Wilson kept trying to strip off the critical misconceptions and reveal the tree in its proper form. He kept inviting his readers to join him in a search for intellectual heroes, since—as he told us time after time—the existence of such men gives meaning and value to our lives.

When Art Young's biography appeared in 1929, Wilson told us that he "performs an invaluable service in a society such as ours: he provides us with one of the touchstones of which we unconsciously make use in testing the soundness of character." His tribute to Elinor Wylie ends by saying, "Then we remember that harsh unflurried, that harsh unembittered laughter, and we look up the lovely lines in the book; and we know that in this sea without harbors, our compass must still be set by such magnets as the jest and the verse." As for Herbert Croly, the founder of the *New Republic,* "He was one of those who make it possible for us to maintain that faith in life itself which, in the United States of our day, the brutalized, the comfortable, the timid, the hopeless and pleasure-drugged, the fatigued and machinery-driven, seem pressing on every hand, and within ourselves, to destroy." Always the enemy was timidity, insensitivity, inertia, and the best defense against the enemy was to find and imitate those with the true artist's vocation.

Wilson was able to find many new writers with that vocation in the twenties and thirties, and he makes the per-

(Continued on page 22)

BIOGRAPHIA LITERARIA

THE DAYS BEFORE, by Katherine Anne Porter (Harcourt, Brace; $4).

THIS COLLECTION represents, presumably, all of Katherine Anne Porter's non-fiction, or at any rate, as much of it as at this time she wishes to see in a book. She asks us in her preface to take these pieces as "really parts of a journal of my thinking and feeling."

> It is my hope that the reader will find in this collection of papers written throughout my thirty years as published writer, the shape, direction, and connective tissue of a continuous, central interest and preoccupation of a lifetime.

Unlike her stories, most of these pieces were written at editorial request, with space limitations and a deadline, yet presumably the author prized them sufficiently to wish to see them in print again, and I should judge that her readers will be grateful to have at least about half of them.

Miss Porter divides her collection into three parts, the first having to do with books, the second with "personal and particular" matters, the third with Mexico. The first hundred and nineteen pages, devoted to criticism, are the most valuable in the book. "Portrait: Old South," a characterization of the author's grandmother in the second section, is fine family reminiscence, and the narrative portions of the long study of the Mexican pamphleteer, José Joaquin Fernandez de Lizzardi (the whole appeared first in 1942 as the introduction to Miss Porter's translation into English of his picaresque novel, *El Pariquillo Sarmiento*) are written with spirit and intimate feeling for the badgered hero who is her subject. But much in these second and third sections hardly bears re-reading.

It is difficult to think of Mrs. Porter as vulgar, even more difficult to think of her as dull. In a few of these essays she is both. The extended account of roses, under the title "The Flower of Flowers," is an example of the second quality; this essay must have been written for the magazine *Flair,* but I am writing from a point in Europe where that unhappy monument to human triviality never penetrated, and I am therefore unable to check my inference. A review of Lawrence's *Plumed Serpent,* which appears judiciously in the category "Mexico" rather than "Critical," is an example of the first quality. "This woman [Katie Leslie] is a perfect study of that last upsurge of romantic sex-hunger, disguised as a quest of the spirit, that comes with the grand climacteric." This remark, made at a cocktail party, would induce appreciative laughter; in print, it causes a mild shudder and some sorrow.

What we value most in Miss Porter's fiction is the delicate precision of her perceptions, their embodiment in the actualities of detail, the grouping of this detail into the most sensitive organizations of meaning; and it is not surprising that her best writing in this collection should be devoted to other fiction by other novelists. Her attack is almost always human rather than critical, highly personal, degenerating occasionally into vague impressionism.

Over and over, these essays begin with Miss Porter herself, *her* relation to the writer in question. "All I know about Gertrude Stein is what I find in her first two books. . . . " "I never knew her [Willa Cather] at all, nor anyone who did know her; do not to this day. When I was a young writer in New York I knew she was there. . . ." "In Mexico, many years ago, Hart Crane and I were reading again *Pavannes and Divisions.* . . ." "Friends of us both first brought Eudora Welty to visit me three years ago in Louisiana. . . ." "She [Virginia Woolf] was one of the writers who touched the real life of my mind and feeling very deeply; I had from that book . . ." "I am able to name exactly the time, the first and last time, that I ever saw Mr. Forster." And so on.

Well, no offense need be taken; it is an approach to criticism not unknown to Dr. Johnson and Mabel Dodge. One calls attention to the point of view only in order to assure the reader that, fascinating as Miss Porter, Miss Porter's mind, and the "shape, direction, and connective tissue of" Miss Porter's "continuous, central interest and preoccupations of a lifetime" may be, she also has very interesting things to say about other writers. The last of the "Three Views" of Gertrude Stein, the one called "The Wooden Umbrella" (1947), is without question the great triumph of her essay writing: What wit, what malice, what rhetoric! This is one of the really formed essays in the book, belle-letteristic writing at its pinnacle, and apart from the fact that it anticipates quite fully the view of his sister that Leo Stein made public a few years later in his autobiography, a fact that would in itself make this an important excur-

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sion into an influential literary phenomenon, this is a wickedly wonderful piece of analysis. "Considering her tepid, sluggish nature, really sluggish like something eating its way through a leaf, Miss Stein could grow quite animated. . . ." So Miss Porter begins one sentence, and ends one reputation. Is it the kind of writing that one looks for throughout this book. One finds it in the title essay on Henry James, in the defense of Hardy, in some of the essay on Willa Cather, which I have not seen before, and sporadically throughout the first section.

But then there are those pitches into vagueness—curiously, they appear most frequently in the pieces that Miss Porter devotes to the discussion of her own craft, which is the least vague in this world—pitches into precisely the sort of generality that Miss Porter herself deplores in other writers, into statements like "All the things I write of I have first known, and they are real to me." Challenged, Miss Porter would be the first to admit that there are no limits to the artist's "knowledge," that his experience is as much created by his knowledge, as his knowledge is derived from his experience. This whole book proves the proposition. If Miss Porter has had a "continuous, central interest" in her life, that interest is the life of the imagination in relation to tradition, more concretely, the life of Miss Porter's imagination in relation to the social and literary tradition in which she has been involved. Item after item in that literary tradition as she herself takes them into account demonstrates that the imagination is both primary and secondary, as Coleridge told us, and the curious fact about some of Miss Porter's new book is that while hers is a prominent contemporary example of the primary imagination, she describes herself, and in some essays submits to the description, as a secondary example of the secondary imagination. We still have her books of stories, as well as some of these essays, to tell us that she is not the sometimes pedestrian, sometimes frivolous literary female who also presents herself here, but is truly one of our most gifted women of letters.

MARK SCHORER

FOR KING AND COUNTRY

MEN AT ARMS, by Evelyn Waugh (Little, Brown; $3.50).

EVELYN WAUGH'S latest novel illustrates the unhappy predicament of a satirist who has fallen in love with his subject. The best of Waugh's earlier books—*Decline and Fall*, *Vile Bodies*, *Put Out More Flags*—were the creations of a caustic, though by no means pitiless, observer of the eccentricities of English upper-class society. He recorded its bored disintegration with inimitable wit, considerable comic invention, and an unrivaled gift for turning English small talk into revelatory dialogue. But then the Second World War came along, and Waugh, like everybody else, has never been quite the same since. The war turned his weaklings and wastrels into heroic fighting men; it gave a focus to their lives and a meaning to their actions; somehow, it re-established their contact with all that was vital in their ancestral traditions.

Up to the present, this theme of wartime reinvigoration has appeared only fitfully in Waugh's pages (for example at the end of *Put Out More Flags* or, somewhat more boldly, in *Brideshead Revisited*). Now, however, Waugh announces a triology of novels centering around "a long love affair, full of vicissitudes, between a civilian and the army." *Men at Arms* is the first of this series, and, as might be expected, it is a curiously hybrid affair. The claws of the satirist are so well sheathed that nobody really gets scratched; and the crispness of the Waugh manner cannot conceal a spiritual affinity with the more maudlin aspects of Kipling, G. A. Henty—and the movie version of the *Lives of a Bengal Lancer*.

Waugh's hero, Guy Crouchback, is what the French would call a *pauvre type* and the Americans a sad sack. Nothing had ever gone right for Guy: his family had lost most of its money, he had never been much at school, his wife had inexplicably gone off with another man, and even the uncritical Italians among whom he lived did not think him *simpatico*. It is typical that when Guy refrains from sin, like a good Catholic, it should be "a habit of dry and negative chastity which even the priests felt to be unedifying." The war, however, gives Guy a shot in the arm, and after some false starts he becomes an officer-candidate in the Royal Corps of Halberdiers—a crack regiment which goes back to Queen Elizabeth's time and refuses to forget it for a moment.

Regimental tradition, Guy finds, suits him right down to the ground. Nothing makes him quite so ecstatic as the sacred and solemn ritual of an officers' mess; and he feels only shame, if not contempt, for those cheeky sons of the middle classes who would much prefer to stay at home with their wives. Reflecting on his sudden access to bliss, Guy realizes "that in the last few weeks he had been experiencing something he had missed in boyhood, a happy adolescence."

This last phrase is exactly right: nor has it, as one might suspect, an ironical edge. From time to time, Guy remembers with some amusement the stories of Army life he had read as a boy—but Waugh does not use these flashbacks for satirical effect. Guy's experiences in the Halberdiers do not diverge from, indeed they reinforce, his boyhood idealizations. All one really needs is a stiff upper lip: no other scale of values is even fleetingly tolerated. Happily, there still *are* occasions when the old, irreverent Waugh peeps out behind the regimental full-dress. But these are few and far between, and, for the most part, the book may be described as a discreet orgy of adolescent sentiment.

At the close, Guy is winging back to home and court-martial for several offenses of which he is entirely innocent. No doubt he will get his promotion and command, and acquit himself nobly (but modestly) as befits an English officer and gentleman. But what is the hapless Waugh reader to do while all of this is going on? Guy, too, paraphrases the book slightly, asks at one point whether God really concerns Himself with the well-being of the English Catholic aristocracy. God probably does because, as Heine once

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remarked of forgiveness, *"c'est son métier."* But it is not, I think, the *métier* of Evelyn Waugh. I should like, therefore, to propose a judicious division of labor. Let God look after the well-being of the Anglo-Catholic aristocracy, and let Evelyn Waugh, to the continuing delight of his readers, return to their follies and their foibles.

JOSEPH FRANK

CHANGING CAPITALISM

THE BIG CHANGE, by Frederick Lewis Allen (Harper; $3.50).

FREDERICK LEWIS ALLEN, editor of *Harper's Magazine,* is also a social and economic historian, specializing in the recent American past. As a social historian he wrote the popular *Only Yesterday* and *Since Yesterday*; as a student of economics and finance he did *The Lords of Creation*, a story of some of the great American financiers, and the biography of *The Great Pierpont Morgan.* His new book, which bears the subtitle, *America Transforms Itself: 1900-1950*; brings together these two lines of thought. It is the story of the past fifty years told from a particular point of view; Mr. Allen thinks that capitalism has greatly changed in this country and that most people, both at home and abroad, fail to realize the scope of this change:

> When Vishinsky or Gromyko or Malik berates the United States, talking, for instance, about "lackeys of Wall Street," what he is doing is berating, exaggeratedly, the United States of 1900 rather than of today. If what he says makes an impression among non-communists in Europe, this is at least partly because a very large number of Europeans have been brought up on concepts of the United States long since outdated.

Mr. Allen's thesis is largely that discussed by James Burnham and by the editors of *Fortune* when they talk about the managerial, or the permanent, revolution. Big corporations are no longer the lengthened shadow of a man as they were fifty years ago, when Andrew Carnegie got as much money as twenty thousand of his steelworkers; today they are owned by large numbers of individuals and are managed by salaried officials. Trade unionism and the government policies which, since 1933, have encouraged it, have raised the standard of living of the great majority of workers, even though there is still far too much deep poverty in this country. Through income and inheritance taxes we are breaking up the great estates. Mass production of the gadgets of living has produced a situation where the gap between the way of life of the millionaire and that of the average man, so conspicuous fifty years ago, has tended to disappear.

Free enterprise is here to stay, but so are many types of governmental activity; public and private are all mixed up together. He rejects the notion that the New and Fair Deals have been dragging us down the road to Socialism or Communism. "There is subconscious agreement among the vast majority of Americans that the United States is not evolving *toward* Socialism, but *past* Socialism." Russian Communism represents, not progress but reaction: "A despotic medievalism which was developed out of a revolutionary attempt to meet the problems of the nineteenth century—problems which we ourselves have long since surmounted."

It is regrettable that because we cannot seem to adjust to the facts, we tend to damn every native liberal with the charge that he is a Red, and make allies chiefly among conservatives abroad.

Mr. Allen is not dogmatic, and he does not pretend to have the answer to everything. In spite of our changed economic climate, he is not sure that if Russia were suddenly to turn peaceful, we could avoid a depression. He doesn't know either whether inflation can be conquered, though he is pretty sure that tax rates have about reached the limit of endurance. In case of total war, he sees a possible federal debt so large that the national credit might be shaken. Whether you agree with him will depend on your own point of view; conservatives will think he goes too far, and radicals, not far enough. But even if you don't accept his general thesis, you will find his book an irresistible storehouse of half-forgotten details of fifty years of American life.

BRUCE BLIVEN

THINGS AS THEY ARE

THE BUILD-UP, by William Carlos Williams (Random House; $3.50).

THIS IS NOT a great novel. Of that I am sure. It is a good novel. Of that I am sure. Why is it a good novel and not a great novel? Dr. Williams did not set out to write a great novel. How can you tell? By what is left out? A deep bias is left out, or say, a revolutionary attempt, or say, a ruthless revealing, or say, a quality so overwhelming as to be offensive, that is to say, an absolutely new creation. All that is left out. But that was not his intention, so you cannot judge him against what he did not set out to do.

Right. But one judges anyway, in spite of one's best intelligence not to, to keep on the fence. It is as natural to espouse and engender and live within pyramids of categories as it is obvious that we think one woman prettier than another. It is too easy to say it is not great. Yes, I believe that too, but it is forced upon me obviously. What is the main thing, again, against greatness? Would you be able to see greatness if it were right in front of your eyes? Maybe one is so hallucinated with appearance that the higher appearance within appearance eludes one, modernistically-automatically.

The Build-Up is like a photograph. A photograph is not dynamic in a way that an original painting is dynamic. It is static. It may be inclusively static, voluminously static, intriguingly static, masterfully static, but it portrays too accurately things as they are, in the case of this novel, things as they are.

He lives so thoroughly entrenched within things as they are (that is, as they were, for this is a family history) that the very alive bright intelligent keen quick shutter-like mind that can record all the scenes, events, personalities and social connections of the characters is the same able, loveable, enlivening, realistic, life-like, human (yes all too human) mind which by virtue of these definitions cannot at the same time be the dark Satanic mill grinder, the ocean-deep sea heaver, the mountain-volcanic reshaper of things so harsh and total and deep in the soul of man as

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almost unbearable to be known. In short, not tragic, not Greek, and not great.

What is it then? Ah, then, if you throw off the heavy restraint of complaint against an unelected depth, pure enjoyment. Then you'll allow impressionistic criticism? Why not, what else? Read the novel, read it. Most writing about writing is superficial, or certainly ungainly, so why not the direct honesty of impressions?

This work is not to be compared with his poetry here. Why not? That range is not allowable in this space and place. I would not choose not to ignore the possibility of using the word great on some of the poetry, on some poems, on some of *Paterson*. But that is not the question here. In *Paterson* you have some of the first terms, a penetrating insight, a whole throw, an unheaval.

What impressions? Throngs. Still off the track of a main perception. He belongs so much to the people he elucidates and photographs and establishes in quick black and white; he loves them so energetically, swiftly and completely, that he cannot get out of them. He would not offend the total historical situation. He is not critical of it.

It is something like the objective faithfulness to situation, in series, of his own early imaginism in the verse. His measure of truth is the truth itself as recalled, the historical sequences in social connections; this is set up as factual; vivid accuracy accrues to the developments.

The doctoral attitude is never critical of any human body. A good doctor serves it. He is not offended by anything in nature because he knows it to the depths: he may therefore, given the temperament, report directly what he sees. This gives Dr. Williams a large and remarkable innocence, of which every word in this book partakes. Time after time one feels, right here he should delve, be cruel, or devastatingly satirical, but no, he loves the human creature so, he understands its limitations so instinctively that he positively charms us with reticence and delighting artistry.

If one writes long enough one will have some knowledge of what one is like. Williams has written long enough so that each sentence is himself—no waste, efficiency, self, thinness of things, artful shifts, swift ellipses; speaking as author he immediately shifts within the young girl's consciousness, speaking as her for a sentence, maybe several, then quickly back to the author-narrator. What sympathy! Masterful passages.

I wish to bring in either religion, or myth as a touchstone of some powerfully biased novel which could be great. I have already mentioned tragedy in the Greek sense, by which I infer the Aristotelian tenets of the *Poetics*. By religion I do not mean orthodoxy but a spell against man's impermanence, the true sense of time which gives on to deep thought and motivates profound actions. Williams does not have this sense in full.

By myth I mean the erection of a substitute were the religious sense lacking due to primitiveness, or decadence, of a society; the glow of a pervading myth would make people act in a big way. There is not such a myth here. It is not the intention.

What about the style, again? Well, one could be critical of the style in one sense by holding that it is too lean. It is just nerves, and eyes, and brains projected onto the page. Where are the sensuous overtones, the nuances to savor for a day, and then for years, the rich interplay of syllables in sentences considered as James might work them? Nothing of that sort here, so we have to be sure to define what we mean by Williams' prose style. There is little subtlety of phrasing conceived as a thing in itself. There is much adroit management of the paragraph, the revealing of character through the timing of events, the build-up of chapters. Over all the disinterested look, the unbiased clearness, the love of life and man and the sensitive regard for each character. Read and you will understand America better for the experience.

In conclusion, I wish to pay tribute to certain high powers here. When, in reading a novel, you suddenly are so gripped by the pages that you cannot put them down, when you have been so captivated by the author that you are completely absorbed within the matter, and live in a heightened awareness of life, within the object, outside yourself, so that afterward you are astounded to have been so moved, you know it is powerful writing.

RICHARD EBERHART

A SCHOLARLY TRIUMPH

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: THE APPRENTICESHIP, by Frank Freidel (Little, Brown; $6).

HERE IS the substructure for a fine, perhaps a great biography; but it is only the foundation. What is actually presented in this volume is an account of an amiable, interesting and fortunate young man, pleasant enough, but with no claim to distinction above a thousand others of the Groton-Harvard types.

This is probably the exact truth. It is consistent with the dismal theory of those who hold that no man was ever made great by good fortune, but

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only by adversity; and up to the end of World War I Franklin D. Roosevelt had never encountered any trouble rating the name of real adversity. The volume ends with the Armistice of 1918 and it is possible to believe that then there was no true greatness in the man.

Then why read about him? The only valid reason is our knowledge that this insignificant individual in the course of time became extremely significant. Mr. Freidel promises five more volumes to complete the biography, and the presumption is that in those five volumes he will establish the justification of this one. But it does not justify itself and the failure lays author and publisher open to attack. No matter how brilliant the final performance, it will do no good to the man who lays out six dollars for this volume and dies before the next one is published.

Mr. Freidel's friends no doubt will argue that his respect for the truth held him to this course. When he wrote about the Roosevelt of 1918 he would have been a liar had he portrayed the Roosevelt of 1938. Granted. But this is 1952, and the most important part of the truth, nay, the only important part of the truth about Roosevelt is what he did after 1918. Unless the shadow of that accomplishment falls across the page, that page is incomplete, no matter how it may be crowded with indisputable fact.

The judicious reader will already have observed that it would be folly to raise this objection against a bad book. That is true, but irrelevant, for Mr. Freidel's is not a bad book, but a very good one indeed, so good that a captious critic is irritated by its not being just a little bit better. The author has every qualification, with one possible exception, of a first-rate biographer. His judgments are fair, his statements are exact, his style is clear and easy, free of pomposities and obscurities, and his industry is positively frightening. If he lacks anything, it is an accurate sense of perspective.

This is not to say that he falls into the crude error of applying to 1910 the moral and intellectual judgments of 1952. He is careful to avoid that trap. It is a subtler thing, an error that much more celebrated writers than this one have made, and that has resulted in what may fairly be called the pyramidal school of biography, that raises above the illustrious dead literary monuments comparable to the masonry monuments at Giza. For archives, reference libraries, and other repositories of learning this is no doubt valuable, but it makes the general reader feel like an Egypologist threading his way through endless tunnels to reach Cheops —sometimes, alas, to discover, like the Egyptologists, that Cheops isn't there.

The least scholarly reader ought to know certain things about Franklin D. Roosevelt's early life—as, for instance, that his mother was a formidable old battle-axe, but pretty wise, at that, and that his father was sympathetic and understanding. It is important to know that Roosevelt was not important as a young man, and that he was brought up in surroundings highly exceptional in America. So much is essential to an adequate understanding of the statesman, or, if that is impossible, to a realization of the mystery of his personality.

Mr. Freidel has brought all this out admirably, so well, indeed, that it will never have to be done again. On technical points his book is well-nigh impervious to criticism. No doubt it will be attacked by fanatics, both those who regard Roosevelt as an idol and those who regard him as a devil; but sensible people will readily see that it is a scholarly triumph of a high order. If he maintains the pace he has set in this volume the completed work will probably rank as the definitive biography until some later generation requires new definitions.

But it is a fragment and the offer of a fragment to the general public is open to legitimate criticism. In some sense it makes the reader a captive, for a man must read at least the second volume if he is to justify the time spent on this one. The ruthless Psalmist allots us only seventy years, and if we are to read in that time Jared Sparks's seven volumes on Washington and then Freeman's six, I am afraid to guess how many on Jefferson, Sandburg's six on Lincoln, Baker's eight on Wilson and now Freidel's six on Roosevelt, when shall we get around to reading even a pamphlet on Millard Fillmore? There are very few human beings about whom all that most of us need to know cannot be compressed into one or two volumes.

This is admittedly not a criticism, it is a *caveat emptor.* Some people may buy this book thinking it is a life of Roosevelt and it is a reviewer's business to warn them. It is not. It is merely the beginning of a life, a very fine beginning that may be the prelude to a noble work. But it is only a start.

Once that is stated emphatically, the reviewer's duty is done. For the rest, go to it! You will not find anywhere a better account—nay, not one half as good—of the young Roosevelt, if you want to know every detail about him. I don't.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

(COWLEY: *Continued from page 17)*
iod seem livelier and much more interesting than the years since World War II. Yet I wonder whether the impression of liveliness that we connect with the earlier period, and the impression of drabness in the present, are either of them wholly deserved. I wonder whether the literary excitement of the twenties and thirties wasn't partly due to our having a critic like Edmund Wilson, with his wide-ranging curiosity and his ability to focus our attention on one new writer after another (not to mention his interest in vaudeville artists, magicians and political agitators). There is no such critic today—not even Edmund Wilson, I started to add, before realizing that the remark might seem to disparage his present work. He is now writing chiefly about established figures and his essays are more important and more carefully considered than his reviews of twenty years ago. We cannot ask him to continue being a reporter and judge of what is new in the arts—but where is the younger critic with wide enough interests and enough authority to take over that neglected function? If anyone wants to prepare himself for the post, *The Shores of Light,* for all its faults of inclusion and omission, will serve as a specimen book of the best sort of work he might do.

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MELODIC INVENTION

by Robert Evett

A PAIR OF recent concerts at the Museum of Modern Art, organized by the American Composers Alliance, included the work of ten composers, and represented surprisingly diverse attitudes toward the organization of sound. With excellent soloists and a small orchestra conducted by Leopold Stokowski, the music sounded fine.

Since Bartok's death, there has been a strong trend away from conventional compositional procedure, especially in New York. Composers who used to be obscure have come into prominence. The music of Schoenberg and his followers has had enormous vogue, and more enterprising young composers have evolved new methods of organizing sound. The rhythmic, motivic and sonorous elements of music have, in many instances, replaced thematic melody as a means of establishing and maintaining continuity.

For many years, it has been my contention that sonority and rhythm are not sufficient in themselves; that composers who find these elements rewarding to use must, sooner or later, come to grips with thematic melody as a dominant element. I feel, too, that no method of composition that involves the use of specific notes is too remote from melodic content to be related to it. For a long time this kind of talk sounded reactionary. But the concerts at the museum brilliantly demonstrated the addition of strong linear elements to materials which, only a few years ago, were in an experimental stage.

Lou Harrison's *Suite for Solo Violin, Solo Piano and Small Orchestra* provides a singularly handsome demonstration of the fusion of fairly traditional melodic elements with formal, rhythmic and sonic concepts that are new, at least to the West. Harrison uses rich, delicate percussive sonorties, with rhythmic and formal concepts borrowed from India. Melodically, his work is redundant, but the lines are long and intricate. The music has a great clarity and freshness about it, and one is more aware of the personality of the composer than the originality of his means.

Another composer who has, I think, been stigmatized with a reputation for exoticism, is Alan Hovhaness. A short version of his cantata *The 30th Ode of Solomon*, which was performed at the Museum, is again to be admired more for its complete exposition all musical resources than for its esoteric genesis. Hovhaness has a mastery of contrapuntal, harmonic, and melodic materials that is rare and of the highest order. His vocal writing is sensitive yet brilliantly imaginative. The combination of austerity and richness in his ode is reminiscent of the High Renaissance, but the composer's style and his methods are his own.

Two *Hymns and Fuguing Tunes* of Henry Cowell, strong melodically and harmonically, have a quasi-archaic sound, but are formally elaborate. At least in these works, Cowell seems to have lost his need for experimentation.

In *Eight Etudes and a Fantasy* for woodwind quartet, Elliott Carter has shown the impact of Schoenberg on the neo-Classical tradition. Here, Carter has employed, among other things, twelve-tone procedures, but cast in forms and textures that are classical in character. In his *Suite for Strings*, Ullyses Kay (who, to my knowledge, has never been an experimental composer,) employs harmonies and rhythms borrowed from the experimenters in a work which is primarily thematic.

Some of the music heard was organized in a different way. Wallingford Riegger's *Study in Sonorities* for ten violins is just that. Vladimir Ussachevsky has experimented with sound, qualified by electronic devices and assembled together on recording tape. He has been more successful in obtaining variety and sustaining continuity within this new medium than has Otto Luening, who is also exploring it. Ben Weber (who continues to be our most authoritative twelve-tone composer) was represented by a new *Symphony* in the familiar expressionist manner. It is an opulent, complex setting of poems by Blake, and too rich for my taste.

The concerts were recorded, and I understand that the records will be issued commercially. It will be a pleasure to have them around.

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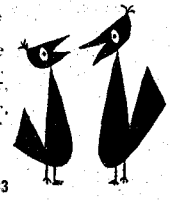

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